1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
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411 on a beam near the fireplace with the points turned toward the fire in order to dry the poison. Before inserting the dart in the blowgun they moisten the poison by passing the tip between the lips.

278 [439] [178] *Curare.*—The Tukuna used to be famed for their curare, called in the lingua geral *uirari* (gu:'rë), which was considered the most efficient of all forms, so that foreign Indians would come from afar to obtain their product. Today this admirable skill is being forgotten and is falling into disuse. Among the Brazilian Tukuna there is only one Indian capable of making good curare, Calixto daueru'k| of Igarapézinho, a tributary of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo. I was present four times, from start to finish, during his preparation of the poison.

The principal ingredient, about 70 per cent of the raw material, is the scraped bark of a liana called gu:'rë,[33] a solid-ground jungle plant the trunk of which attains a thickness of some 20 cm. A few pieces of the liana are cut, and the bark is scraped at the same place. This used to be done with the edge of a bivalve shell; nowadays it is scraped with a knife. Once at home, the curare maker pours water over the scrapings into a wide-mouthed pot, where the resulting infusion forms a thick, sepia-colored soup. The scrapings are squeezed between the hands and placed on cane[34] leaves, tied together so as to form a kind of conical filter (gu:'rë-čin|[a]). The leaves are held fast by bending them over a hoop and tying them in this position. The filter is placed on a frame of sticks to keep it about two handbreadths above the ground, the pot is placed beneath it, and the liquid is then poured through the filter.

The second ingredient, about 20 per cent of the total, is the scraped root of a plant called in Tukuna tau'-mačirë' ("anus of toucan"). The vapors released by scraping this plant somewhat irritate the mucous membranes. The infusion, which looks like a dark-brown mud, is placed in another cane-leaf filter beside the first.

All the other ingredients are used in quantities so small that, taken altogether, they make up perhaps 10 per cent of the total. Among them are the root scrapings of the ṅo:b| (jabotí)[35] plant, the infusion of which is poured through a separate filter but into the same pot as the preceding ingredients. Filtered into the same pot are also infusions of aṅ/pa'ra ("cinnamon," jacamím) and a small quantity of a special type of sweet potato called gu:'rë-ñëi[a]-ko:'rë, which is scraped with a pirarucú tongue. The other components—scrapings of vota', ova'ru, an|' and dyu'/ne—are considered of little importance.

After everything has been filtered several times, the liquids are poured together into a large pot, which is placed over a slow fire. The ash-brown scum that then forms on the surface is skimmed off, mixed with water, and filtered again. The thick, coffee-colored liquid is stirred with a hafted river shell. After some time a dark sediment begins to precipitate and is carefully removed from time to time, the liquid being poured into another pot. This task of removing the scum and sediment is continued for about a week, the preparator working about nine hours a day. It is done with extreme care, for they say that the efficacy of the poison depends largely on this. Pains are also taken not to allow overheating of the decoction,

[33] *Strychnos toxifera* †—Trans.
[34] *Ubim*, "cane"; also known as *guaricanga de bengala*.
[35] *Vêrga de jabutí* (*Erisma calcaratum*, Warm.?).—Trans.

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291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

Basketry.—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round 285 opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

Weapons.—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to 411 hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

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is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency. 584 [591] [593]

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable. 595 587

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great. 593 586 684

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief. 685

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him. 672 733

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made. 423

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation. 622 178

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*. 764 [114]

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults. 721 648 [411] [727]

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

of fermented liquor, the *Ihiĉboah* fête. On this occasion dancers, with their heads muffled in bags representing human figures, execute a series of figures more or less successful as an attempt at chorographic art.

On awaking in the morning the young girl finds the floor of the hut strewn with ashes. Without this precaution on the part of those who have shorn and beaten her, *Mhohoh* (the devil), at the moment the soles of the girl's feet touched the ground, would not fail to possess himself of her through the new path provided by nature. This formality concludes the ceremony, and, after the customary ablutions, the girl, again free, awaits without impatience the time when, her hair having grown, she is handed over to a husband. As Ticuna girls are marriageable about their tenth year, and two or three years of delay are necessary that their hair may attain a certain length, it would appear that at twelve or thirteen years of age they may be brought under the yoke of Hymen, a classic phrase very applicable to their lot.

The male children, like those of the Jews, are circumcised a few days after birth. Female children are subjected about their fifth year, and under pretence of circumcision, to a species of mutilation the object of which is unknown to us, but which, if it had been practised in the Isle of Lesbos, in the time of Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Myrtis, and Anyta—other and better names I pass by—would have rendered impossible a certain dialogue of Lucian, and deprived Juvenal of the malignant pleasure of writing his satire, *Lesbides infamem*, &c.

At the period when the Ticunas formed a nation under the command of chiefs, instead of being, as now, merely scattered, self-dependent families, they worshipped a god-creator, under the name of *Tupana;*[1] gave thanks to, although abominating, a spirit of evil called *Mhohoh;* and believed that the soul, after the death of the individual, would pass, according to the works during life, either into the body of an intelligent being or into that of an unclean animal. According to their ideas heaven was divided into two spheres, the one superior the other inferior, separated by a transparent vault; in the first the creative spirit Tupana was intrenched; the stars which we see from below are the rays of light from his face, weakened by passing through the intermediate vault and the inferior sphere. Their astronomers admitted the revolution of the earth around the sun, and recognized in this luminary the brother and spouse of the moon. According to them the rivers were the arteries of the terraqueous globe; the streams the veins; and their respective currents were due to the gravitation or simple motion of the planet around the pivotal star or sun.

From their systems of theogony and cosmogony the Ticunas have only preserved a profound indifference for Tupana and a dreadful terror of Mhohoh, who from the rank of a spirit of evil, which he long held among them, has now descended to the vulgar condition represented by the attribute of an evil-eye. All the ardour and intelligence of these savages appears to be turned towards a free traffic in articles of toy-ware, gimcracks, and playthings of all kinds, and cotton handkerchiefs of staring colours.

[1] We may remark, in passing, that in the Yahua and Ticuna idioms, as in those of Omagua and Tupinamba, of which we give specimens farther on, the spirit of good is always termed Tupana, whilst the name of the spirit of evil is different in each idiom.